

Robert G. Neumann
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Washington D.C. 20016
Tel: (301) 229-1629

June 4, 1978

Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski
Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Brzezinski:

I want to take this opportunity to commend you strongly on both the form and substance of your remarks on the program "Meet the Press." Frankly, it came as a relief.

It has long been my conviction, gleaned from experience, that diplomacy does not function when it is merely talk, however persuasive the arguments might seem. Rather is diplomacy a finely spun web between talk and action. In my view, there was never much of a chance that the Russians would not constantly probe for soft spots or that they would not try to fill every vacuum they could find in a low-risk manner. There is only one way to stop them, and that is, as you said, when their enterprise bears a cost.

How relentless the Soviet drive is, has recently been demonstrated in Afghanistan. As you remember, I was U.S. Ambassador to that country and I am acquainted with several members of the new government. What I know is not reassuring. Even more important is that several of them, belonging to the former "Parcham" government party, always kept in close contact with the Soviet Embassy in Kabul and prided themselves thereon. It is inconceivable to me that these people would not have informed their Soviet friends well in advance of the coup. One must therefore conclude that the Soviet government saw advantages in that bloody event.

What advantages? Surely not in Afghanistan itself. All modern governments of that country, royal or republican, have been most careful of Soviet concerns and policies. Moreover, the USSR was the largest donor, and all military equipment was Russian. Hence the target of that coup must invariably be sought outside Afghanistan, i.e. in Iran and Pakistan. I need not elaborate, I am sure.

We should therefore consult closely and openly (without overdoing it) with those two "targeted" countries, both to reassure them and to warn the Soviets against further adventurism. In Afghanistan itself we should continue our presence with minimal and only ongoing aid programs. I certainly do not agree with those (in other USG departments) who feel "activist" about our aid program because the new Prime Minister, Mohammed Nur Taraki, said on May 6, "Our relationship with all countries will be based on the amount of their support . . . in

political and economic terms." It is a clever move to demand that the donors prove their support. In my view, the burden of proof is on the new government and until we are satisfied about its nature, we should keep a low profile and tread water.

In a few days I shall take the liberty of writing you another letter about a firm friend of the United States, namely Morocco. Having been instrumental in building up our relationship with that country (1973-76), because of the considerable US interest involved, I am pained to see it deteriorate as it has done.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'R. Neumann', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Robert G. Neumann

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

C S TS SN CO
Log in & Out (X)

TO: ZB

FROM: Neumann, Robert G

DATE: 6/4

Other: _____

SUBJECT: (VIP)

Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed)

Views on Afghanistan

| Action | Comments | Info | Rec'd | Action Required: |
|-----------------------------|----------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Advance Cv ZB/Aaron | | | | Prepare memo for President. |
| Staff Secretary | | | | Prepare memo for Brzezinski, . . . |
| Western Europe/Canada | | | | Prepare reply for _____ |
| USSR/Eastern Europe | | | | Prepare memo _____ to _____ |
| Far East | | | | Prepare SP. |
| PRC & ROC | | | | Recommendations |
| Mid-East/No. Africa | | | | Concurrence/Comments |
| N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S. Asia | | | X | Appropriate Action. |
| N/S: Latin America | | | | Any Action Necessary |
| N/S: UN/LOS/ec al | | | | |
| N/S: Dev Economics | | | | |
| Horn of Africa/Special | | | | Due Date: _____ |
| Global Issues | | | | COMMENTS: _____ |
| Security Analysis | | | | |
| Economics | | | | |
| Intelligence | | | | |
| Congressional/Press | | | | |
| Scientific | | | | |
| Crisis Management | | | | |
| Huntington | | | | |
| Time | | | | |

| Date | To | Sta | Action Required or Taken (Updates) | Due | Copy(s) to |
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| 6/28 | ZB | X | for sig | | |
| 6/29 | | C | for sig ltr to Neumann | | |
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Dispatch/Instructions

X Form 6/29

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Filed: PA WH NS DH

Suspense or attached

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

U C S T S S N C O
Log in & Out ()

FILE

TO: ZBFROM: Kohert J. NeumannDATE: 4 June

Other: _____

SUBJECT: Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed) _____

| | Action | Comments | Info | Rec'd | Action Required: |
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| Advance Ctr ZB/Aaron | | | | | Prepare memo for President. . . . () |
| State Secretary | | | | | Prepare memo for Brzezinski ; . . () |
| Western Europe/Canada | | | | | Prepare reply for ZB or 4/200 Sig (X) |
| USSR/Eastern Europe | | | | | Prepare memo _____ to _____ () |
| Far East | | | | | Prepare SP. () |
| ERC & ROC | | | | | Recommendations () |
| Mid-East/No. Africa | | | | | Concurrence/Comments () |
| N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S.Asia | | | | | Appropriate Action. () |
| N/S: Latin America | | | | | Any Action Necessary () |
| N/S: UN/LOS/etc al | | | | | |
| N/S: Dev Economics | | | | | |
| Horn of Africa/Special | | | | | Due Date: <u>6-24</u> |
| Global Issues | | | | | COMMENTS: |
| Security Analysis | | | | | <u>unappropriate</u> |
| Economics | | | | | Tom, Neumann is an ex-Amb. I have attached |
| Intelligence | | | | | the WH files on Neumann for your convenience. |
| Congressional/Press | | | | | He is a writer rrrr. Thanks L. |
| Scientific | | | | | |
| Crisis Management | | | | | |
| Education | | | | | |
| INDEX | | | | | |

| Date | To | Sta | Action Required or Taken (Updates) | Due | Copy(s) to |
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Received: 6 - 19 Hr: 17

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DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

U C S T S N C O

Log in & Out ()

TO: ZBFROM: Robert S. NeumannDATE: 4 Jun

Other: _____

SUBJECT: Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed) _____

| | Action/Comments/Info/Rec'd |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Advance Cv ZB/Aaron | |
| Staff Secretary | |
| Western Europe/Canada | |
| USSR/Eastern Europe | |
| Far East | |
| PRC & ROC | |
| Mid-East/No. Africa | |
| N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S.Asia | * |
| N/S: Latin America | |
| N/S: UN/LOS/et al | |
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| Horn of Africa/Social | |
| Global Issues | |
| Security Analysis | |
| Economics | |
| Intelligence | |
| Congressional/Press | |
| Scientific | |
| Crisis Management | |
| Washington | |
| Other | |

Action Required:

- Prepare memo for President. ()
- Prepare memo for Brzezinski ; ()
- Prepare reply for ZB or your sig (X)
- Prepare memo _____ to _____ ()
- Prepare SP. ()
- Recommendations ()
- Concurrence/Comments ()
- Appropriate Action. ()
- Any Action Necessary ()

Due Date: 6 - 24

COMMENTS:

appropriate

Tom, Neumann is an ex-Amb. I have attached the WH files on Neumann for your convenience. He is a writer rrrr. Thanks L.

| Date | To | Sta | Action Required or Taken (Updates) | Due | Copy(s) to |
|------|----|-----|------------------------------------|-----|------------|
| 6/28 | ZB | * | for signature | 7/5 | |
| 7/27 | | | see 780 4004 for final Action | | |
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